

Message Text

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 MC-02

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 017063

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIA AND THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

REF: A) BUCHAREST 99; B) USUN 134

1.

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/CONSULTATIONS ON UN MATTERS BETWEEN US AND OTHER UN
MEMBERS ARE FOCUSSED PRIMARILY IN NEW YORK AND OCCUR
WITH NO REGULARITY IN WASHINGTON. VIEWS AND INFORMATION
ON UN MATTERS MAY OF COURSE BE EXCHANGED IN WASHINGTON

IN COURSE OF GENERALLY CLOSE CONTACT DEPT MAINTAINS WITH FRIENDLY STATES SUCH AS BRITISH. WHEN SUCH CONTACTS OCCUR IT MOST OFTEN RESULT OF INITIATIVE BY EMBASSY RATHER THAN DEPT. WHEN WE WISH INITIATE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON UN MATTERS, WE USUALLY INSTRUCT USUN MAKE DESIRED APPROACH UNLESS WE WISH TO GIVE SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO US CONCERN, IN WHICH CASE APPROACHES ARE MADE IN CAPITALS AS WELL. REFTEL B, WHICH BEING REPEATED TO YOU, OUTLINES IN SOME DETAIL CONSULTATION PROCESS WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES.

2. NAMIBIA - BACKGROUND: THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL LIKELY TAKE UP THE NAMIBIA QUESTION ON JANUARY 26. THIS WILL BE THE FIRST MEETING ON NAMIBIA SINCE JUNE 1975, WHEN THE US, UK AND FRANCE ALL VETOED A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH

AFRICA BECAUSE OF ITS CONTINUED ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. WE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE EXISTING SITUATION IN NAMIBIA REPRESENTED A THREAT TO THE PEACE AND THEREFORE FELL UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE UN CHARTER WHICH PROVIDES FOR MANDATORY SANCTIONS. THE US HAS TRADITIONALLY SUPPORTED UN RESOLUTIONS ON NAMIBIA. WE VOTED IN FAVOR OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2145 OF OCTOBER 27, 1966 WHICH TERMINATED SOUTH AFRICA'S LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE FOR NAMIBIA AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 276 OF JANUARY 30, 1970 WHICH TERMED SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA ILLEGAL. WE ALSO SUPPORTED THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE JUNE 21, 1971 ADVISORY OPINION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, WHICH STATED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS OBLIGED TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA AND THAT UN MEMBERS ARE OBLIGED TO RECOGNIZE SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA AND TO REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS IMPLYING RECOGNITION OR LENDING SUPPORT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE.

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ON DECEMBER 17, 1974 THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 366 WHICH CALLED ON SOUTH AFRICA INTER ALIA TO ACCEPT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA AND ALLOW FOR NAMIBIAN SELF-DETERMINATION UNDER UN AUSPICES. THE RESOLUTION ALSO CALLED ON THE SC TO MEET WITHIN SIX MONTHS TO REVIEW SOUTH AFRICAN COMPLIANCE WITH RESOLUTION 366. ON APRIL 22, 1975 THE US, UK AND FRANCE MADE A TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA URGING SOUTH AFRICA TO COMPLY WITH SC RESOLUTIONS AND MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY TO ALLOW THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO FREELY EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON THE FUTURE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE TERRITORY. WHEN THE OFFICIAL SOUTH

AFRICAN RESPONSE TO RESOLUTION 366 FELL FAR SHORT OF COMPLIANCE WITH UN DECREES THE COUNCIL MET IN JUNE WITH THE RESULTANT VETO OF THE RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO.

ON SEPTEMBER 1 A NAMIBIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE UNDER SOUTH AFRICAN AUSPICES CONVENED IN WINDHOCK WITH THE GOAL OF DRAWING UP A CONSTITUTION FOR THE TERRITORY. THE CONFERENCE, WHICH WILL BEGIN ITS THIRD SESSION IN MARCH, IS MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM VARIOUS NAMIBIAN ETHNIC AND TRIBAL GROUPS. REPRESENTATIVES OF NAMIBIAN POLITICAL GROUPS, HOWEVER, INCLUDING THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AND SWAPO (THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT RECOGNIZED BY THE OAU AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE) HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE.

ON OCTOBER 23 THE US, UK AND FRANCE UNDERTOOK A SECOND TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA OVER NAMIBIA. THE THREE AMBASSADORS IN PRETORIA URGED THE SAG THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER INTER ALIA TO -

-- STATE SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTIONS IN A CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS MANNER REGARDING THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS IN NAMIBIA BEFORE THE NEXT SC MEETING ON NAMIBIA;

-- HOLD A SINGLE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN THE TERRITORY
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AS A WHOLE SO THAT EVERY INHABITANT WILL HAVE A VOTE IN DETERMINING THE POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY;

-- ALLOW ALL POLITICAL GROUPS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS;

-- CONSULT WITH THE UN SYG ON MEANS TO ENSURE THE SUPERVISION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPLY TO THE DEMARCHE WAS HARDLY ENCOURAGING AND GAVE LITTLE INDICATION OF ANY BASIC CHANGES WHICH WILL BE MADE IN ITS POLICY TOWARD NAMIBIA. THE SAG SPECIFICALLY DENIED THAT ANY UN RIGHTS EXISTED WITH RELATION TO SOUTH AFRICA.

MOST RECENTLY ON JANUARY 8 THE DAKAR CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS CALLED IN ITS PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO:

-- DETERMINE UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER THAT THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY SOUTH AFRICA

AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE USE OF THE TERRITORY AS A MILITARY BASE, CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY; AND

-- DECIDE ON A COMPLETE EMBARGO ON THE SALE, GIFT OR TRANSFER OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

IN LIGHT OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS WE NOW EXPECT THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SC (BENIN, TANZANIA AND LIBYA) TO AGAIN INTRODUCE A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR SANCTIONS. THE DEPARTMENT IS NOW IN THE PROCESS OF DECIDING ON A STRATEGY TO TRY TO AVERT THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER US VETO OF A RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA. PENDING THAT DECISION, THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS ARE OFFERED FOR USE BY THE EMBASSY IN ANY DISCUSSION OF NAMIBIA WITH GOR AUTHORITIES.

3. TALKING POINTS:

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-- THE US REMAINS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. OUR SUPPORT FOR UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON NAMIBIA REMAINS UNCHANGED.

-- THE US BELIEVES THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION WITH UN SUPERVISION AND AS A SINGLE TERRITORIAL ENTITY.

-- THE US OPPOSES AND ABHORS THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IMPOSED ON THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES.

-- THE US BELIEVES THE SAG-SPONSORED CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WILL NOT BE EFFECTIVE WITHOUT PARTICIPATION BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE TERRITORY SUCH AS SWAPO AND THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL CONVENTION.

-- THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IS WELL AWARE OF OUR BELIEF THAT IT SHOULD PUBLICLY STATE ITS INTENTIONS TOWARD THE TERRITORY PRIOR TO THE NEXT SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION. WE MOST RECENTLY MADE OUR POSITION KNOWN IN A TRIPARTITE (US, UK, FRANCE) DEMARCHE DELIVERED TO FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER ON OCTOBER 22, 1975.

-- WE HOPE SOUTH AFRICA REALIZES THE PRESSING NEED IN TERMS OF ITS OWN INTERESTS TO MOVE PROMPTLY IN RESOLVING THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION.

-- THE US

CANNOT SUPPORT THE
EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA OVER
NAMIBIA. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THESE MEASURES
WOULD BE USEFUL OR EFFECTIVE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA
SINCE, DUE TO ITS RESOURCES AND HIGHLY DEVELOPED
INFRASTRUCTURE, THAT COUNTRY WOULD PROBABLY BE ABLE
TO MAINTAIN A HIGH DEGREE OF SELF SUFFICIENCY.
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-- WE HOPE TO WORK IN THE UPCOMING SC SESSION TO FIND
A RESOLUTION WITH WHICH ALL NATIONS CAN AGREE IN ORDER
TO SHOW SOUTH AFRICA THE CONTINUING DEEP CONCERN OF THE
UN TOWARD ITS POLICY IN NAMIBIA.

4. SOUTHERN RHODESIA - BACKGROUND: THIS WILL BE
THE FIRST SC MEETING ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA SINCE
MAY 1973. THE GENERAL PURPOSE OF THE MEETING IS TO
ONCE AGAIN REVIEW THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND
PROBABLY EXPAND UN SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA.

THE US HAS CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED THE SMITH GOVERNMENT
IN RHODESIA AND SUPPORTED UN RESOLUTIONS ON THE
COUNTRY. WE SUPPORTED RESOLUTIONS 232 OF DECEMBER 16,
1966 AND 253 OF MAY 1968 WHICH IMPOSED MANDATORY
ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA. EXCEPT AS
PERMITTED BY DOMESTIC LEGISLATION (THE BYRD AMENDMENT
ALLOWING CHROME IMPORTS) WE HAVE STRICTLY ENFORCED
THE SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. ALONG WITH BRITAIN
AND DENMARK WE ARE THE ONLY COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE
PROSECUTED SANCTIONS VIOLATORS.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONS COMMITTEE, OF WHICH
THE US IS AN ACTIVE MEMBER, HAS ADOPTED A REPORT
DURING THE PAST YEAR WHICH RECOMMENDS THE SC INCLUDE
WITHIN THE SCOPE OF MANDATORY RHODESIAN SANCTIONS,
INSURANCE, TRADE NAMES AND FRANCHISES. BECAUSE NO
SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ARE CONTAINED IN THE REPORT, WE
HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE AS YET TO STUDY THE TYPE OF
RESOLUTION THE SC WILL LIKELY BE ASKED TO ACT UPON.
WHILE WE PROBABLY WILL BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE
INCLUSION OF INSURANCE, TRADE NAMES AND FRANCHISES
IN SANCTIONS, DEPENDING ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE
PROPOSAL, WE WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE
EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS TO INCLUDE ALL FORMS OF
COMMUNICATIONS. WE VETOED A RESOLUTION IN 1970 WHICH
WOULD HAVE INCLUDED TELEGRAPHIC AND TELEPHONIC
COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN THE SCOPE OF SANCTIONS. WE
DID SO PRIMARILY FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS, BECAUSE
WE DO NOT WANT TO CUT OFF AMERICAN CITIZENS FROM

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COMMUNICATION NOR FROM ESSENTIAL INSURANCE COVERAGE
NO MATTER WHERE THEY ARE IN THE WORLD.

5. THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS ON RHODESIA MAY
BE USED BY THE EMBASSY TO ANSWER ANY INQUIRIES:

-- THE US OPPOSES THE ILLEGAL SMITH GOVERNMENT IN
SALISBURY AND FAVORS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERN-
MENT IN RHODESIA ACCEPTABLE TO ALL RHODESIANS.

-- SINCE THEIR IMPOSITION IN MAY 1968 THE US HAS
SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVED THE UN MANDATORY SANCTIONS
AGAINST RHODESIA, EXCEPT WHERE PROHIBITED BY
DOMESTIC LEGISLATION.

-- WE HAVE STRESSED IN THE UN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE
DURING THE PAST YEAR THAT WE BELIEVE IN PRINCIPLE
THAT THE UN SHOULD EMPHASIZE IMPROVING THE
ENFORCEMENT OF SANCTIONS RATHER THAN WIDENING OR
EXPANDING THEIR SCOPE.

-- THE US CANNOT SUPPORT THE COMPLETE APPLICATION
OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA (UNDER ARTICLE 41
OF THE CHARTER) TO INCLUDE THE CUTTING OFF OF
COMMUNICATIONS SINCE IT IS US POLICY NOT TO DENY
ACCESS AND COMMUNICATION WITH US CITIZENS
WHEREVER THEY MAY BE IN THE WORLD.

6. INFO ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON FOREGOING AS
APPROPRIATE IN ON-GOING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH HOST
GOVERNMENT ON UN ISSUES IN SPIRIT OF STATE 303856.
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